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OLD IRANIAN ANTHROPOONYMS AND RELATED MATERIAL IN LATE BABYLONIAN SOURCES

BY
Ran ZADOK

A. IRANIAN

1. *Am-mar-da-*¹ son of ² Bi-ši-ia, Borsippa, time of Darius I (522-486 B.C. ; HSM 1909.6.601, 1, 5 : *Am-*³ *mar-da*⁴ -⁵, 8)¹ is perhaps the outcome of **A-mrta-*

“immortal, eternal” (LB intervocalic <mm> can stand for /m/). For the meaning compare ⁶’nwšh, perhaps <⁷*An-auša-

“immortal” (cf. Zadok 1991, 39 and Gignoux 1986, 42f. : 101ff., cf. also 41 : 95). The difficult y is that OIran. /t/ is rendered by LB <d> only when it is intervocalic or preceded by n (i.e. /VtV /, /-nt/ = LB < V-dV>, <-nd>, cf. Zadok 1976a, 217f.), but not after /r/ (sonant r). A connection with the hypothetical OInd Iranian source of the tribal name Amardoi (cf. Eilers 1964, 186, n. 21 ; Grantovskiy 1970, 74f. with n. 7) cannot be proven. A derivation from an Old Iranian equivalent of Old Ind. *a-mardhant-*

“not becoming indolent, lazy, idle” or “not making weary, tired” (a further possibility is “not a despiser, not scornful”, cf. Mayrhofer 1956-

1980, 2, 595f., s.v. *márdhati* with a hypothetical Avestan cognate) is not certain. Or perhaps “n on-crusher”, cf. Avest. *marدد-* “to crush”?

2. *fAm-me-si!-ir* (text NI, OECT 10, 238, 6, collated), mistress of Bēl-bullissu son of Šullumā (a servant, ⁸lúqal-la), Hursag-kalamma, 6.I.11[+x?] Xerxes, i.e. sometime between 475 and 465 B.C. ; *fAm-mi-is-ri-*⁹ (BE 10, 45, 9) ; *A-mi-si-ri-*¹⁰ (BE 9, 39, 2 = IMT 38, 3 ; EE 1, 4 : *f*[...], 5), owner of an estate, Nippur, 26.VII.431/0 - 1.VII.423/2 B.C. The common assumption is that she is identical with the Achaemenid queen ¹¹Amhstris (Ionian for **Amāstris*), wife of Xerxes and mother of Artaxerxes I (see Dandamayev 1992, 28f. : 10 ; Brosius 1996, 64, 73, 75, 94, 113, 118ff., 123 ; Briant 1996, 108, 147, 582f., 983).² The etymology **Amā-strī-*

“strong, vigorous woman, wife” (Justi 1895, 512, approved by Schmitt 1996, 83) is based on th

¹. I would like to thank Prof. P. Steinkeller for permission to quote from this unpublished document which belongs to the Harvard Semitic Museum. All the BM numbers listed below are unpublished. I would like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to quote from them as well as Mr C.B.F. Walker, who allowed me to consult the Bertin copies.- All the asterisked forms are Old Iranian unless otherwise stated. Abbreviations :

CTMMA 3 = I. Spar and E. von Dassow, *Private archive texts from the first millennium B.C. Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art 3*. Turnhout 2000 ; EE = M.W. Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and empire : The Murašū archive, the Murašū firm, and Persian rule in Babylonia*. PIHANS, 54. Leiden 1985 ; IMT = V. Donbaz and M.W. Stolper, *Istanbul Murašū texts*. PIHANS, 79. Leiden 1997.

². Quoting König 1928, 95 and 1972, 93, n. 12 (hardly her namesake, who was the eldest daughter of Darius II, as claimed by König 1928, 95b).

e Greek form.³ Stolper (EE 64) states : “It is an inviting speculation to identify Amisiri’ as a Babylonian rendering of the name of Artaxerxes’ queen-mother, Amestris. If it were so, the changing condition of Madumītu’s holding would mirror political change : after her husband’s accession, Parysatis succeeded to control of Amestris’s property, both land and personnel. While this speculation is historically plausible (quoting Lewis 1977, 22), it cannot be supported philologically. Identification of the Iranian names underlying Greek Amestris and Babylonian Amisiri is conjectural ; equating the two names only compounds the difficulties”. This is in line with the statement of Mayrhofer 1972, 201, n. 37 : “Ein Anschluss des Frauennamens A-mi-si-ri-’ aus Texten der Regierungszeit Artaxerxes’ I, an den Amestris-Namen würde die Probleme noch vermehren” (cf. Mayrhofer 1973, 124, 8.50 ; Hinz 1974, 126 ; 1975, 113f.). If one dissociates ’Amhstris from N/LB A-mi-is/si-ri-’ (cf. Schmitt 1979b, 125f.), then the above-mentioned LB forms may render **Ama-srī-* “Having strength and beauty” (see Tavernier 2000) or “(Having) the beauty of *Ama-*” (an Avestan *Yazata-*, originally the deity of offensive power, cf. Bartholomae 1904, 140 s.v. ²*ama-* and P.-M. Berger apud Hinz 1975, 27f.) ; for the name type cf. Old Ind. DN + *śrī-* (Hilka 1910, 111).⁴ But the dissociation seems to me too facile. The problem how to reconcile the LB spellings with the Greek form still remains in view of the prosopographical issue : there is at least circumstantial evidence that both ’Amhstris and *A-mi-is/si-ri-*’ refer to the same individual. An ”inorganic” -t- is found much later in Gk. Costrw and Costrohs (< Middle Iran.) in Avro ; -mān for Cosrohs (also Cosdrohs in Malalas, cf. Justi 1895, 134ff.), cf. parth. *hw̄srw* “renowned, illustrious, famous” (see Mayrhofer 1974, 206 : 2.1.10). If both the Greek and the LB form refer to the same individual, it seems to me that *A-mi-is/si-ri-*’ is the outcome of the simplification *str > sr*, which is not unthinkable in an Aramaic-speaking milieu, cf. LB (Seleucid) *Is-(si)-ra-tu-nu / I-si-ra-te-ú-nu / Is-sa-ru-ú-tu-nu / I-si-ra-tu-* (see Zadok 1979, 296f. : 14 with refs.) for Gk. Stratwn (see Goossens 1941, 231), and Nab. ’*sr t(w/y)g*’ for strathgós (see Zadok 1979, 297). This simplification is also extant in Demotic *Srtn*(3) along with *Strtn*, *Strtwns* < Stratwn, gen. Stratwnos ; *Srt�* < Stratippos and *Ssrt* (along with *Sstrtf31* < Swstrath and *Ssrts* (along with *Sstrtw*) < Swstratos (Lüdeckens *et al.* 1980-2000, 935, 941, 949).

3. *Ar-d/ta-*

A+A, general (lúGAL ER[ÍN...]) of Akkad (= Babylonia), 145 B.C. (Sachs and Hunger 1996, 96 : -144 : ‘obv. 36’ : [A]r- ; 98 : -144 : r.’ 17) may render **Artaya-* with Middle Iran. *VtV > VdV* (hardly Babylonian *Ardāya*), cf. Middle Pers. *Ardā* or sim. “the righteous” (Gignoux 1986, 45 : 124). ’*rd*’ in the Babylonian Talmud is juxtaposed with ’*rt*’ (cf. Talm. ’*rtbn* for King Artabanus). For the rendering of Old Iran. /t/ by LB <?> cf. *Mi-it-ra-a-tu* (Sachs and Hunger, *Diaries* 3, 434f. and pl. 276f. : -90 : 15’) from the same period (91/0-84/3 B.C.) ; Sachs and Hunger, *Diaries* 3, 470ff. and pl. 286f. : -83, 5 : [Mi]-, 470 : 6’, 472 : 21’, 474 : r.’ 17 : *Mi-it-r[a-..]*, 19 : -?[u]] ; = *Miqra* ;’

³. On the much debated Greek spelling see Schmitt 1967, 136, n. 134 with lit. ; Mayrhofer 1972, 201, n. 37 ; 1973, 8.50 to Elam. *Ammašiš* (if it is not a genuine Elamite name then it may reflect a SW Iranian form). Differently Hinz 1974, 126. The prehistory of Av. *strī-*

“woman” (originally “femina”, see, e.g., Trost 1938, 197f. and Thieme 1972) does not interest us here.

⁴. <*A/Am-mi->* for /^f**Ama-l* (and /^f**Amā-*/) causes no difficulty, as the *Kompositionsfuge* is treated like the end of the full name (cf. Coogan 1976, 97 ; ^f*Am-me-si!-ir / A-mi-si-ri-*’ are anaptyctic spellings).

ths (see Zadok 1997 ; Del Monte 1997, 55, 168f., n. 280) as well as *Gu-tár/tár(DAR)-za-*
a (Sachs and Hunger, *Diaries* 3, 442 and pl. 276 : -90, lo.e. 1), 91/0 B.C. ; *Gu-tár/tár-*
za (Sachs and Hunger, *Diaries* 3, 454 and pl. 282f. : -87, C, “r.” 31’, 87 B.C.) ; [G]u-tár/tár-ri-
iz (Epping and Strassmaier 1891, 232 : Rm 845 : 7, see Del Monte 1997, 254) for Gwta ;
 rzhs = Gotarzes I (91-
 81/0 B.C.). The etymology is doubtful ; Parth. *Gwtrz* is tentatively etymologized by MacKenzie
 (1986, 110 with n. 6) as **Gau-tarza-*, perhaps “ox-crusher” (to skt. *trh-*
 “to beat, crush”, cf. Justi 1895, 513, s.v. *tarz*).

4. *At-ta-¹ par¹-*

nu (BM 25937, 5), presumably central Babylonia (Borsippa?), 20.V.25, possibly Darius I (497/
 6 B.C.) < **Rta-farnah-* with assimilation of -r-
 to the following t. Cardona 1985, 55ff. compares attagas (the initial and final a are circumflexe
 d) with middle Pers. *Wardag* and related Iranian forms in later dialects.

5. *At-ta-mar-ga-*² held a field in Til-

Hurdî (Nippur region), Nippur, 27.XIIb.432/1 B.C. (BE 9, 32 : 3, see Zadok 1977, 104 : 1.3.92 ;
 Dandamayev 1992, 49 : 77). His name may be either **Hāta-marga-*
 “he by whom fields have been acquired” (see Zadok 1976a, 214a) or (with haplology) **Ātata-*
marga- “having far-stretching fields” (cf. **Hu-marga-*
 “having beautiful meadows”, see Schmitt 1982, 22 : 13). Differently Hinz 1975, 118.

6. *Ba-ga-pi-du* from [Babylon], 29.IX.424/3 B.C. (Zawadzki 1997, 45f. : 1.7 : -

¹*dul*) may go back to **Baga-pitā* “God is (my) father” (cf. Mitra-
 abû'a below, C, 2) with intervocalic *t* > *d* rather than **Baga-pati-*
 “Baga is lord” as **pati* > *pit/d*, *be/h/id* (see Eilers 1974, 287) is not recorded before the Middle
 Iranian stage.

7. *Da-ar-ma-ak-ka-*², father of *Pa-ti-iš-ta-na-*² (member of the *hatru-*

organization of the *Arumāyu* people and owner of a bowland in Šalammē), Nippur, 6.VII. 425/4
 B.C. (BE 9, 74, 6) may render either **Darmaka-*, to **darma-*, Old Ind. *dharmā-*
 “carrier, bearer, supporter” or *dharma-*
 “support ; law, statute, regulation” (see Scheftelowitz 1903, 166) or **Drvaka-, -ka-*
 hypocoristicon to OPers. **drva-*
 “firm, solid” (Hinz 1975, 89). For N/LB <*arm*> = foreign */rv/ cf. *Pa-ar-mar-ti-*
iš < OPers. *Fra-varti-š* (see Zadok 1976a, 218a ad 1.72) and *Ar-mad-da-A+A*, *Ar-ma-du-ú-*
a, gentilic of Arwad (RGTC 8, 29).

8. *Da-ru-uk-*

ku¹ lú(?xxx¹), holder of a field in Šaputtu, Nippur, 28.VIII.418/7 B.C. (EE 47, 3). Since the lan-
 ded property of 7 and 8 was located in different settlements, it cannot be proven that these spellings
 refer to one and the same individual. *Da-ru-uk-*
ku may render the Old Iranian forerunner of Middle Pers. *Dravag* (Gignoux 1986, 78 : 324), So
 gd. *drwk*, Bact. *lrougo*, *ddrogo* “healthy” (Sims-
 Williams 2000, 190a, s.v., cf. Chores. *Drwky*, Livšic 1984, 258f.) < **Dravaka-*.

9. *In-du-pa-né-e* (Sachs and Hunger, *Diaries* 3, 254 and pl. 232f. : -

126, 8.r' 2') presumably goes back to **Vinda-farnah-*
 (see Zadok 1997), cf. 'Intafernhs with i instead of u for OIran. /vi-
 / (see Schmitt 1979b, 125 with n. 41). The second component is adapted (due to popular etymol-
 ogy) to Greek names with -fa ;'
 nhs. Other Iranian names which appear in LB in their Greek forms are *Ú-ru-de-e-*

su (Sachs and Hunger, *Diaries* 3, 370 and pl 258f. : -107, C : r. 16'), *lúrab ku-mar-ri* of all the temples (cf. Del Monte 1997, 158) from Babylon, 108/7 B.C. < 'Orwdhs, 'Yrwd hs (see Zadok 1997) and *As-pa-a-si-né-e*, *As-pa-si-né-e* (Sachs and Hunger, *Diaries* 3, 168 + pl. 204 : -137, D obv. 14' and 254 + pl. 232f. : -126, A, 'obv. 8' respectively), i.e. Hypsa(o)sines king of Charax (-Spassinou); son of Sagdodonacus and father of *Ti'-mu-ú-tu-su* = Timoqeoī (see Schuol 2000, 218-220 ; 291-300 with lit.). The LB spellings cast doubt on the interpretation **Vispa-c* ; ^v *inah-* < **Vispa-c* ; ^v *anah-* „an allem Gefallen habend“ (Schmitt 1971, 20f. ; 1990, to -c ; ^v *inah-* cf. Narten 1986, 261 ; cf. also Schuol 2000, 291f.). The interpretation as **Vispa-c* ; ^v *anah-* rather than **Aspa-c* ; ^v *anah-* , which is based only on Greek 'Uspasinhī, is unlikely in view of the LB spelling, since LB <*s*> = OIran. /s/, and never /c ; ^v /, the <*s*> of -<*si*-> is the LB rendering of the Greek form (like *Ar-si-uq-qa*, a post-Achaemenid ruler, see Joannès 2001, 257 ; perhaps based on the official form). Nab. 'spsn' is an equivalent of LB *As-pa-si-né-e* (cf. Mayrhofer 1979, 15 : 15 ; incorrect Ch. Rempis apud Müller 1972, 321 ad 41 : „'spsn könnte auch ... auf ein iranisches **Aspasān* „pferdeähnlich“ zurückgehen“). *As-pa-(a)-si-né-e* goes back to **Aspa-c* ; ^v *anah-* (see already Schmitt 1971, 20f.).

10. Iš-pi-ri-da-a-ta (Stolper 1994, 620 : VAT 15609, 3), a senior functionary (*lúpa-ra-as-ta-mu*, “the foremost (one)”, a honorific title, see Eilers 1940a, 23, n. 2 ; Hinz 1975, 179 ; Stolper 1994, 623a), Babylon, 39th year of Artaxerxes I/II (426/5 or 366/5 B.C.). His name may render **Spihra-dāta*- < **Spihra-dāta*- “given by heaven (< ‘white, shining’)” (Stolper 1994, 620 ; with - \square r- > -hr-, cf. Eilers 1936, 173-176 ; Schmitt 1984, 201 ; 2002, 69f.), cf. *Spiqra/ida* ; ^v *ths* (see Schmitt 1993, 394ff.) and MPers. *Spihr-dādag* (Gignoux 1986, 64 : 2 : 4 ; with -g < -ka-), but LB <*s*> for OIran. /s/ is problematic : the only example for OIran. /sp/- > /šp/-, LB *Áš-pa-zA-an-da-* < OIran. **Aspa-janta-*

, is (if the etymology is correct) motivated by /j/. Such a motivation does not exist here. The forms with - \square r- > -hr-

are West Iranian, whereas traces of *sp* > *šp* are discernible in Eastern Iranian : Manichean Bactrian has *wyśp* < **vispa-* “all, each, every, whole” (cf. Sims-Williams 2000, 213b, s.v. *oispo* etc.). In Khotanese OIran. **s* shifts to **š* after **i* (cf. Emmerick 1968, 164 ad *sp-* > (V+) *šp*), cf. Khot. *spuljaā* “spleen” (cf. Av. *spdrd^dzan*) and the secondary development of **s* to [scharfes s= *š*], caused perhaps by the development of a prothetic vowel before the initial consonant group containing a sibilant +*p* (> *šp*, see Emmerick 1981, 197 ; 1986, 71f., 75f., esp. 77).

11. Ka-ar-da-ra-

; female slave, *Humadēšu* (in Persis), I.IX.523 B.C. (*Camb.* 384, 6 = Dandamayev 1992, 93 : 172). Her name may render **Kara-dārā-* “having work” or “bearer of work” (-*dārā-* “holding, keeping”, see Hinz 1975, 149, cf. Zadok 1976b, 77 : 34), cf. Gippert 1993, 99f., 348 t o Georg. *karan-* < Middle Iran. **kār(a)-dār* “work keeper, manager” (“Werk-Halter”, cf. Schmitt 1995, 132), and perhaps New Persian *kārdār* “busy, occupied”, Arab. (< Middle Pers.) *Kārdār* in Ṭabarī (Nöldeke [ed. de Goeje] 1881-82, 869 [main text : *k'rd*, MS Spr. 30 : *k'rd'*], 870 [main text, T, L, and Spr. 30 : *k'rd'd'n*, but C

: *k²rd²r²n*], cf. Nöldeke 1879,111 ; Christensen 1936, 126 ; Bosworth 1999, 104f.,⁵ as well as, perhaps, *Krtrykn* in Dura Europos (Harmatta 1958, 120ff. : /*Kārdārēgān*/ or /*Kārderēgān*/, cf. W. Sundermann apud Gippert 1993, 100, n. 5).

12. *Mur(HAR)-da-ak-ka*, Du-ur-re-he, undated, but datable to Darius I's time (522-486 B.C., see Spar and von Dassow, CTMMA 3, 165 ad 83, 14) may render a -*ka*-hypocoristicon of **vrda-*“rose” (cf. Schmitt 1998, 191 : H.34 ad parth. *Wrdk*, pace Spar and von Dassow, CTMMA 3, 165 who compare “Av.” Harzakka, Mayrhofer 1973, 157).

13. (five individuals).

- (1) ***Ni-na-ak-ka***, master of Nabû-aha-ittannu (slave/servant? = ^{lú}I[R](?)), Borsippa, 26.VIII. x+(?)] [4] Dar. I (sometime between 518/7 and 488/7 B.C., BM 25708, 4, 10).
- (2) ***Ni-na-ak-ku*** (a Mede), master of the maid Ēṭertu, Borsippa, -I.499/8 B.C. (VS 4, 160, 3 = Zadok 1977, 112 : 2.2.5 ; Dandamayev 1992, 105f. : 211a).
- (3) ***Ni-na-ak-ku***, master of Ilu(DINGIR^{mēš}-x¹ [x...]) (perhaps a majordomus), *garimHa-di-ra-nu* (near Borsippa), 26.XI. 490/89 B.C. (BM 25656, r. 6).
- (4) ***Ni-nak-ku***, guarantor - presumably central Babylonia (Borsippa?) - 1.XI.35 (perhaps Darius I, in which case it would be 487/6 B.C., seeing that the ductus is not late-Achaemenid or Hellenistic, OECT 12, 160, 9').
- (5) ***Ni-na-a-ku***, dependent of the household (*mār-bīti*⁶) of *Za-ta-me-e*, Nippur, 20.V.-20.VIII.429/8 B.C. (BE 9, 45 = TMH 2/3, 143, 30) ; *Ni-i-na-ka*- (BE 9, 50, 13 ; = Zadok 1977a, 102 : 1.3.60 ; Dandamayev 1992, 106 : 211b) ; *Ni-na-ak-ku*, functionary (*ustaribar*) and dependent of the household of *Za-ta-me-e*, - 18 (or 28?). - .423/2 B.C. (PBS 2/1, 30, 23.u.e., with a seal, Bregstein 1994, 262) ; without title : [Ni]-na-ak-ka, Nippur - 13.VIII.428/7 B.C. (EE 12, lo.e., cf. 15 : [...] ; *Ni-in-na-ka*-², *Ni-i-na-ka*-³, [Nippur or its region], - - - .425/4 B.C. (EE 7, 9' and r. respectively). These forms may render **Nīnaka-* obviously a -*ka*-diminutive (less likely a hypocoristicon, Eilers 1936, 178, n. 1 ; 1940a, 78, n. 4 ; 88 ; 1940b, 202, n. 4) to *Nīna-*, which may be itself an onomatopoeic form. The etymology suggested by Livshits apud Danda

⁵. See the doubts expressed by Harmatta 1958, 121f., n. 74, who points out that none of the forms in Tabari actually renders *Kārdār* (alternatively *kāra-* “army” + *-dāra-*).

⁶. CAD B, 295f. render “administrator within a household”. Stolper, (EE, 46.83, n. 58) renders *mār-bīti* as “agent” in view of his activity (in EE 20 *ālik na-šparti* is rendered as “agent”), but in EE, 20f. he aptly translates “members of the households”. The case of Ninakkū, who is described as an official (*ustaribar*) and *mār-bīti*, is analogous to that of *Mi-it-ra-en* / *Mi-it-ra-A+A-ni* / *Mi-it-ra-*²-*in* son of Marduk-šuma-iddina (or -nādin-šumi BE 9, 59, 6.15.e) official (^{lú}mu-dal-li-hi, meaning unclear) of the right bank of the Sîn canal and *mār-bīti* of Tattannu (*mašennu*) - [Nippur], 23.-.428/7 B.C. Both individuals acted as officials. Their title *mār-bīti* very probably denotes their status. *Te-ri-ka-a-mu* is defined as a servant (^{lú}IR) of Illil-šuma-iddina in his earliest occurrence (26.V.428/7 B.C., EE 94, 2). His title is ambiguous and may alternatively denote “slave”, but since he is mentioned with his paternal name (*Ba-ga-pa-nu*) a few months later (20.IX.428/7 B.C., BE 9, 54, 2), I would prefer to regard him a dependent servant. In all his later occurrences (eleven), from 4.XII.426/5 B.C. (BE 9, 68, 1.5.8) onwards he bears the title *mār-bīti* (^{lú}DUMU.É, a dependent of the household of Illil-šuma-iddina, see Zadok 1977, 102 : 1.3.63 ; Dandamayev 1992, 125f. : 290a=b[!]) :

Ti/Tir-ri-ka-a-mu (10+[x].- Art I = 464-424/3 B.C., EE 86, 1 ([*Ti/Tir-ri*]-). 7 ([*Ti/Tir*]-) ; *Ti-ri-[ka]a-am* (15.VII.- Artaxerxes I = 464-424/3 B.C., IMT 20, 4) ; *Tir-ri-ka-am-mu* (21.IV.425/4 B.C., EE 93, 2) ; *Tir-ri-ka-am-mu* (28.-.425/4 B.C., EE 99, 2.8.11 : *Tir*-[...]) ; *Tir-ra-ka-am-ma* (16.I.423/2 B.C., BE 10, 10, 2 : -*r[a]*-.6 : -*k[a]*-) ; *Ti-ri-ka-am-ma* (3.VI.423/2 B.C., PBS 2/1, 11, 1.5.8 : -*r[i]*-.10) ; *Ti-ri-ka-am-mu* (14.XI.423/2 B.C., IMT 22, 2.8 : [*Ti-ri*]-.11 [*Ti-ri*]-.12 : [*Ti-ri*]-) ; *Ti-ra-ka-am* (6.-.423/2 B.C., PBS 2/1, 28, 2.7 : -*[ka]*-) ; *Ti-<<ri>-ra-ka-am-ma* (-.-.423/2 B.C., BE 10, 56, 3.6.11) ; *Tir-ri-k[am-mu]* (place und date lost, time of Illil-šuma-iddina, IMT 25, 3).

mayev 1992, 105f., viz. to *ni-nam-/ná-*

“(he who is) beating, striking” is not convincing. On a merely typological level one may compare the many onomatopoeic forms based on *nina-*

, which are recorded in other dialects, cf. Gk. *Ninwn*, *ninion* = *nexion* “doll”, *Ninnaia* (= *Nannai*) according to C.C. Torrey in Rowell and Bellinger 1932, 56f. ad 153), *nana*, *nena* a (reduplicated) “Lallwort” for a female relative (grandmother), in an inscription (Demitsas 1980, 415, 416 a d *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* 1904, quoted by Geiger 1981-82, 305 with n. 23), *ninnh* “grandmother” or “mother-in-law”, ne ;

nnos “(maternal) uncle, maternal grandfather” (cf. Pokorny 1958, 754; Frisk 1970, 304, s.v.), also *na* ; *nnas*, *nónnos*, fem. *na* ;

nnh. Old Indian has *nānā* “mother, little mother” (Skt. *nana*, *nena* “mother”), NPers. *nana* “mother”. Turner 1966, 405 : 7059 has *nānna* “term of respect for an older relative (male and female)” : Prakrit *nanna-* (both n-

s with a dot underneath) “eldest brother”, Sindhi *nāno*, Bengali and Oriya *nānā* “mother’s father”; Oriya *nāna* “son”, *nānā* “elder brother; mother; daughter”; Hindi *nānā* “mother’s father”, Marathi *nānā* “respectful term of address”. Latin *nonnus*, *nonna* “monk, nun”, also “children’s nurse”; Albanian *nanë* “mother”, Welsh *nain* < **nanī* “grandmother”; Bulgarian *neni* “the older”, Sorbic *nan* “father”. Italian has *ninna nanna* “lullaby”. Thus, some of these forms refer to male relatives, but there is no evidence that they are genetically related to *Ninakku*.

14. *Pe/Pi-ti-ku-ur-*

tu, a Persian, [Borsippa], early Achaemenid (mentioned in the archive of the Borsippian Šaddi nnu son of Balātu descendant of Bēliyā'u, who is recorded from the very beginning of the Achaemenid period as late as 482 B.C., BM 96217, 7). The name starts with Old Iranian *pati-*

“against, versus” (with epenthesis), cf. perhaps OPers. *pati-kara-*

“image, likeness” (< “counterpart”, “Gegen-

, Nachbildung”) > NPers. *paikar*, Armen. (< Middle Iran.) *patker*, OSyr. *ptkr'* (Bartholomae 1904, 828b ; Horn 1898-

1901, 61 ; Hübschmann 1895, 224 : 516) on the one hand and Old Indian *prati-krti-* fem. “image; substitute” on the other, cf. perhaps Av. *paiti + kar-* or *kardt-* with *kdr̥dta-* “solemn naming” (Bartholomae 1904, 447f., 466). Eilers (1974, 280) was of the opinion that the epenthesis is recorded not only in Eastern Iranian, notably Avestan, but also in Western Irania n, for instance OPers. *patiyajatā* “he fights against”, RAE *be-ti-ṣa* < **peti-c*; *a-*, an abbreviated form, i.e. *pet(i)-* < *pati-* (cf. Eilers 1974, 286f.) ; *A-ku-pi-iš* for *Ākaufac*; *iya-* (Eilers 1974, 281f.), LB *Pu-ru'-šá-ti-iš* < **Paru-šiyāti-*, *Pu-ru-ha-a-tu*; and *Né-ri-a-bi-ig-nu* (an Elamite, *Humadēšu* in Persis, 1.IX.523/2 B.C., Dandamayev 1992, 106 : 212) < **Nariyā-bigna-*

(see Eilers 1940b, 202, n. 6 ; Benveniste 1966, 90 ; Mayrhofer 1973, 8.1248 ; cf. Zadok 1976b, 74, n. 150). For the rendering of the second component cf. MPers. *gird* < **krta-* and *Kirmān* < **Krmāna-*.

15. *Sa-ma-ak-*

ku (26.I.419/8 B.C., CTMMA 3, 128, 4) bore the ambiguous title *mār bīti*, which denotes either an Achaemenid prince or a dependent of a household. The editors and M.W. Stolper (Spar and von Dassow, CTMMA 3, 263) regard him as an Achaemenid prince, the more so in view of the fact that he owned a field on Nār-

Madānu near Babylon. The suggestion (cautiously considered by Jursa 2001-02, 224b ad 128) to regard him as a dependent of a household is less likely as his title is not followed by his master’s name. *Sa-ma-ak-ku* is a -*ka-* hypocoristicon based on either *Sāma-*

, cf. the Avestan name *Sāma-*

“black, mixed with black” (see Mayrhofer 1977a, 74f. : 280) or **savah-* (cf. Av. *sauuah-*, “strength, vigour, might, power”, Mayrhofer 1977a, 74 : 276 ; 1977b, 21f. : 4.3.7). Jursa (2001 -02, 224b ad 128) cautiously suggests as an alternative that *Sa-ma-ak-*
ku renders Arabic *samak* “fish”. The name of *Sa-am-ma-ku* father of *Gu-za-nu*, who is recorded in an administrative document from Cyrus’ reign (Cyr. 379, 5, LB, place of issue not indicated, presumably central Babylonia), may be West Semitic. The doubling of the m is merely orthographic for intervocalic /v/ is rendered as <m> in LB, whereas <mm> is unambiguously /m/. It may derive from S-M-K “to support” (Aram. and Can.-Heb.), cf. NA *Bēl-šá-ma-*

ka “Bēl has supported” (Radner, Parpola and Whiting 1999, 328a, cf. Zadok 1978, 70, 81 ; 198 8, 23, 28, 37, 39, 95).

16. *Ti-ri-ba-za-*⁷ (a Scythian), colleague or associate (“brother”) of *Ti-ri-par-na-*⁸ from Illil-ašābšu-iqbi (near Nippur), 12.VIII.417/6 B.C. (TMH 2/3, 189, 11.15.1.e. = Zadok 1977, 124 : 2.5.7 ; D andamayev 1992, 126f. : 292). His name renders **Tīrī-bāzu-* “arm of *Tīrī-*” (see Eilers 1940b, 201, n. 3 ; 1953, 49, n. 2 ; Hinz 1975, 237 ; cf. Schmitt 1994, 87 ad *Tīrī/Tīri-a-*). The -Ca-
⁹ is possibly due to contamination with the commonest Aramaic hypocoristic suffix -ā (cf. also ’Artaba ;’ zas, Huyse 1990, 35f. : 23 and Zadok 1996, 491). LB -ba-za/zu-
¹⁰ hardly renders OIran. -vazda-
(cf. Schmitt 1979a, 39 ; Grenet 1983, 376f.). Unlike Greek z Aramaic and Akkadian <z> (e.g. i n Aram. Trybwz) do not render OIran. /zd/, cf., e.g., Aram. *Mzdy* = Gk. Mazaios (see Schmitt 1 996, 92f. with n. 35, cf. Gk. Oromazhs, see also Kuiper 1964-65, 300.305). There is ample evidence of Mazda-
transcriptions in LB, where <d> is retained (see Zadok 1976a, 216b).

17. *Ti-ri-ia-a-ma* (Nippur, 7.IV.431/0 B.C., BE 9, 34, 25) is the same name as *Ti-ri-²-a-ma* (Bāš, 12.VIb.503/2 B.C., BM 74604 = Bertin 2424, 22) with -ya- > ²-².
⁷ The name may be either **Tīrī-ama-* “strong through **Tīrya*” (see Hinz 1975, 238) or **Tīrī-avah-* “with the help, favour, delight of *Tīrī-*”, cf. Av. *auuah-*, Old Ind. ávas- (cf. also Av. ciṛā.*auuah-*). A further alternative is **Tīrī-yav(a)-* (see Zadok 1977, 103, n. 138 ; cf. Old Ind. *deva-yāvan* “going to the gods”).

18. *Us-ku-du-ru-*⁹ (BE 9, 74 : 4), *Is-ku-du-ru-*¹⁰, *Is-ku-du-ru* (PBS 2/1, 116, 5 and 122, 7 respectively), *Is-ki* (copy DI)-du-ru-²-ú (BE 9, 28a, 5)⁸ father of *Us-pa-ta-ru-*¹¹, Nippur, 6.VIII.434/3 - 17.VI.418/7 B.C. (= Zadok 1977, 115 : 2.4.4 ; Dandamayev 1992, 86f. : 160) may render **Skau* ḫra- “serious, grievous”, cf. Sogd. šqwr, Bact. askwro (cf. Sims-Williams 2000, 182a, s.v. ; for LB <dr> = OIran. /ṛ/ cf. Zadok 1976a, 213b, 218a : 1.57) rather than **Skudra-*, an alleged ethnicon to *Skudra-* “Thrace” (?) (see Hinz 1975, 225). Diakonoff (1981, 138, n. 65 *in fine*) stated : “V.A. Livshits[’s]... idea that the land Skudra may stand for European Scythia and not for Thrace is still worth reflecting upon” (but see Schmitt 1994, 85f.). LB <-², -ū> for OIran. -a and -ā is extant in *Baga-²-zu-uš-tu-*¹² (Joannès and Lemaire 1996, 48f.55 : 6, 1, u.e. : -<ga-²>-) < **Baga-zušta-*, *Ba-ga-*

⁷. Cf. the N/LB spellings of the Tetragrammaton (Heb. /Yaw/< /Yahw/), as a final component with <-ma> (-w/), namely (1) -(^d)ia/iá-a-ma, (2) – Ci-a-ma, (3) -²-a-ma, and (4) -Ce-e-ma (Zadok 2002b, 14).

⁸. -DI- is a scribal error for KI or even for KU in view of *Ka-DI-nu* perhaps for *Ka-ku-nu* in the same document ; -²-ū may be influenced by *I-si-pa-ta-ru-²-ū* (BE 9, 28a, lo.e.).

pa-nu-u (CTMMA 3, 11, r. 3) < **Baga-pāna-* and ^f*Ap-pa-mu-*
ú (Zadok 2002c : BM 85009, 14) / ^f*Pa-am-mu-ú* (Zadok 2003 : BM 28999, 7) < **Apamā-*
 respectively.

B. PERHAPS NON-IRANIAN

1. [D]a-²-ma¹ mi-a¹s/z-ta, ([D]a-²-ma-m[i]-as/z-ta) (BE 9, 102, 8 and lo.e.+ r.e. respectively) father of Bēl-bullissu (*ustaribar* and foreman of the *hatru*-organization of ^{lú}*Ma-na-i-ka-nu*, perhaps “Manneans”), Nippur, 16.VII.424/3 B.C. (= Zadok 1977, 102 : 1.3.69 ; Dandamaye v 1992, 68 : 122). This form perhaps renders **Dāmi-Mazda*- (Eilers 1940a, 85, n. 3) „Schöpfer Mazdah-“ or perhaps ends with a form related to Av. *miazda*- “offering”. **Dāma-myasta*- “Paradies vereint” (Hinz 1975, 81) is unlikely. Since the name may refer to a Mannean, a possibility that it is non-Iranian cannot be excluded.

2. Is-pa-ar-še-e perhaps father of *At-ar-ta*-, [Nippur], 23.VIII.-time of Artaxerxes I (Muraššû archive, ca. 445-423/2 B.C., IMT 44, 3). Tavernier (2000, 4) suggests **Spār-c*; ^v*a-ya-*, i.e. **spāra-* “abundance, prosperity”, Old Ind. *sphāra*- “abundant” followed by two suffixes. However, -*c*; ^v*a-* is not attached to the bare stem, but generally follows a vowel. In addition, -*Vc*; ^v*a-* is generally not followed by another suffix. An Iranian genealogy of *Is-pa-ar-še-e* is not proven. Therefore there is no telling that he was an Iranian.

3. Zi-i-mu-a-

ga (BM 79715, 3, from the Sippar collection ; private communication of Prof. S. Zawadzki), time of Cyrus ~ *Zi-ma-ga* (= *Zi-ma-ga*’). See Zadok 2002a, 883, where I pointed out that the shift of an unvoiced consonant (k) to a voiced one (g) in an intervocalic position is very rare in the 6th century B.C. (it is common only later in Western Middle Iranian).

C. HYBRID (IRANO-SEMITIC)

1. A-ti-

^d**EN**, presumably a foreman (GAL ^{lú}*x*), Babylon, 18.X.325/4 B.C. (Stolper 1993, 68f. : A 2-1, 4), *A-te*²-
^d**EN**, seal owner, [Babylon], Seleucid (CT 49, 173 = Stolper 1993, 25f. : 8, lo.e.) and *A-te*²-
^d**EN**, father of Rihat-Nanâ (weapon bearer, ^{lú}*ze-na-bar-ra*), Babylon, 13.IX.270/69 B.C. (CT 49, 111 = Stolper 1993, 42f. : 13, 3.4) is presumably one and the same individual as *Ha-ti*²-^d**EN** son of Ardi-^d**um**(?)*-ba/ma*-a from Babylon, 1.I.314/3 B.C. (Stolper 1993, 80f. : A 2-6, 14.lo.e. : ^r*Ha*¹-). The NB/LB orthographic interchange *ḥ*/*O* : / -

would render foreign /*ḥ*/ or /*O*. The name, whose theophoric element is Akkadian Bēl, looks Semitic. The predicative element may derive from ^v*T-*

Y, a root which may be productive at least in the Hebrew onomasticon in view of OT ‘*tyh* and Epi-graphic Heb. ‘*tyhw* (Avigad and Sass 1997, 142 : 317 ; see Avigad 1989,92 with n. 27 following Noth 1928, 191, to ^v*T-*

Y “to be insolent, obstinate, proud”, see presently). ‘*tyhw* may be rendered as *Ha-ta-a-ma* in NB (see Zadok 1992, 48). A verbal root ^v*T-*

Y is extant only in Arabic (‘*atā*), but it has a pejorative denotation there, viz. “to be insolent, ob

stinate” (see Koehler et al. 1967-1996, 855a). Arabic has also H-T-’ with the meaning “to strike ; swallow, devour” (*hata’ā*) ; *hati’ā* “to be curved, inclined towards the earth (person)”, which does not produce names. An Iranian derivation for the predicative element, viz. *A-te-*² (or *A-ti-*)/*Ha-ti-*²-, seems less likely, but cannot be ruled out categorically in view of the fact that Bēl is extant in a middle-Iranian name, namely *Bldwš’ō* < **Bēl-dauša-* “Bēl is friend” (see Shaked in Bivar and Shaked 1964, 277, cf. Henning 1952, 160, 171, 173). In this case the predicative element may render **Ha*̣ya- “truth” (see Stolper 1993, 27). *A-ti-*^dEN / *A-te-*²₋^dEN / *Ha-ti-*²₋^dEN has nothing to do with *Aathibelus* at Dura Europos, which is just a bad spelling for *Aethibellus* or *Aithibelus* (gen. -*li*, Welles et al. 1959, 100, ix, 3 ; xxxvi, 21 ; 101, xiv, 14 ; 102, iv, 6 and 100, xxix, 4 respectively).

2. ^d*Mi-it-ri-AD-u-*

a (Michaelidis 1943, 102 : pl. 6, cf. Schmitt 1991, 116, n. 19) on a statue of a bull (provenience : Defenneh in Egypt) in the author’s collection, who states (p. 99) : “nom perse bien connu qui est rendu en grec par ‘Mithrobaios’”. Yet, ^d*Mi-it-ri-abu-u-a* is a hybrid (Iranian-Akkadian) name meaning “Mịra is my father” whereas the Greek name, to which it was compared by Michaelidis, was borne by a person that appears elsewhere as Miqrodaioī. The latter can be interpreted as a purely Iranian name (see Nöldeke 1888, 30 ; Justi 1895, 208b). In addition, since there are no hybrid (Iranian-Akkadian) personal names in Akkadian or other sources, it cannot be ruled out that this inscription is a forgery. My suspicion is strengthened by the fact that also other documents of the Michaelidis collection are forgeries : the forged Aramaic documents were discussed by Naveh 1968, 3 17ff. as well as by Porten and Yardeni 1999, 299 ad D 24, 1. Another forgery is perhaps the Greek papyrus published by Bonyaval 1966, 75ff., where the Sidonian ’Abramī son of ’Abdastaratos (“Memphis, Ptolemaic”) is mentioned. The Greek document is suspected because both Sidoian names cannot be Phoenician for one expects in view of many parallels transcriptions reflecting *’*Abro* ; ² *m* and *’*Abd’āštar*. However, final judgement rests with the papyrologists.

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SUMMARY

Twenty-three anthroponyms from Achaemenid and Hellenistic Babylonia, as well as one found in Egypt, are discussed in this paper. Eighteen names (section A) can be etymologized as Iranian with various degrees of plausibility, whereas three (section B), which may be of non-

Iranian origin, remain unexplained. Two names (section C) look hybrid, viz. Irano-Semitic, which is a very rare category. The possibility that one of them (C/2) is a forgery is considered.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article étudie vingt-trois anthroponymes de la Babylonie achéménide et hellénistique, ainsi qu'un trouvé en Egypte. Dix-huit noms (section A) peuvent trouver une étymologie iranienne avec divers degrés de certitude, tandis que trois (section B), qui peuvent avoir une origine non iranienne, demeurent inexpliqués. Deux noms (section C) semblent hybrides, c'est à dire irano-sémitiques, ce qui est une catégorie très rare. On envisage la possibilité que l'un d'eux (C/2) soit un faux.

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